1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. 593
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, 562
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually successful in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, vol. 2, pp. 157.) [622] [833]

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, 593
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, 428
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near 349
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a cer- 593
tain spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large [103]
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have 593
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother- 784
sister tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide appli- 605
cation, which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor." The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofefine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony (26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La-billardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate children that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of lower rank.

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, married Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity became interested.

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form:

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *otuva* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

Hina

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

Taufa

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, later King George I.

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Nginginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 726 nearly retaken; she ran so exceedingly swift through the water, knee-deep, and the young chief in pursuit of her exerted himself so much to overtake her, although he was near enough to knock her down with his club, that he actually fell through fatigue. It must, however, be said in favour of the chief, that the weight of his club was a great disadvantage, whereas his lovely fugitive ran without any incumbrance, for, in her endeavour to quicken her pace, her gnatoo (dress) became loose, and fell from her waist; this was the only time that she looked back, from a sense of modesty, to see if it was recoverable, but she was under the necessity of pursuing her flight without it.

669 727 The thirteen prisoners were conducted to Neafoo*, though Finow had given orders that all that should be taken should be killed on the spot. The captors saved their lives, however, partly from motives of humanity, and partly

[833] * They were obliged, however, by the way, to submit to the will of their captors, for this is always considered a thing of course, and not at all an act of brutality. These transactions are generally conducted in neighbouring woods, and by no means in an open, public, or outrageous way. In short, notions of delicacy, in respect to the female sex, have a much higher influence in the Tonga islands than what would be commonly understood from the accounts of some travellers: among the lower orders, of course, there are abuses every where, but these do not constitute the legal customs of a country.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together (602) at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs (574) for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's [574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and successfully married. According to village pattern, they 833 have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and [841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. 526 They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the [554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal 178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of 593 the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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585 [574] eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele, [292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her [513] gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-[556] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a [565] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 504 296 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*, and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished, the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was [533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until [535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi. At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group 585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom 833 slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse on this night nor for the four following nights (five nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono api*, "to make or cultivate a plantation" (the more general term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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first intercourse; the longer the period of waiting, the greater the affection.

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On Friday, Tui made a small feast for his family. On Sunday he again made another feast, larger this time. It consisted of ten giant *taro*, four large yams and two large pigs (of the third size, *ha'amo*). Many of the bride's family came to Pangai from Toula bringing with them gifts of mats: Vikai, a distant relative of the bride, brought five *kie*-mats for the groom's ceremonial skirt; the bride's mother brought four *kie*-mats for the bride. These mats were put on and the whole group went to the church service. After the service, another relative of the bride presented her with one length of bark cloth and one *kie*-skirt, other relatives doing likewise later in the day. All these mats and bark cloth presented to the couple by both bride and groom's relatives became part of the "trousseau" outfit of the married couple. They will be stored up, used as required, and then passed on as gifts to other relatives when they in turn get married. The bark cloth may in time wear out, but it is replaced by the bark cloth that the bride will herself make. The mats will last for many years and thus play their part in the endless chain of reciprocal gift-giving whereby the kinship bonds are strengthened and validated by consensually-accepted symbols.

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Following upon this presentation, which always consists of the giver's taking off the garment the recipient is wearing and substituting for it the garment which is presented, the oven was opened. All the food was presented to the bride's family who immediately wrapped the food up in coconut-containers and set off for their home village carrying the food with them.

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(574)

On the following Tuesday night the marriage was finally consummated. The bride was too exhausted to rise the next morning, but Tui's wife noticed that there was blood on her dress. Tui immediately set to work to make a further oven consisting of three yams, eight giant *taro*, and one pig. Word was sent to the bride's mother who came hurrying over from Toula accompanied by her sisters. The oven was opened, food eaten, and remains packed up by the mother when she returned to Toula. For the following seven nights

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 [591] the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well [833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 [581] It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 561 178 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with- 584 583 178 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

inherited. In the case of hereditary estates the inheritance descends to the issue of the deceased holder *in infinitum*. Males and females may succeed, but male issue is preferred to female of the same degree. Thus the estate devolves upon the eldest son of the deceased holder in the first instance, and if he dies, to his eldest son; if there is no such son, then to his eldest surviving brother who now carries on the line under the same rules. A person not born in wedlock may not succeed; but for this purpose a person is regarded as legitimate even if he was obviously conceived before the marriage of his parents.

There are similar rules regarding tax allotments. The inheritance descends in the first place to the eldest son of the deceased holder; and if he dies, to his eldest son. If there is no such son, then his eldest surviving brother may succeed. But where there is neither son nor brother to succeed, an unmarried daughter may succeed for her life. If there are several daughters, however, they may succeed jointly for their lives. A female's right to land under these laws may be put aside if she marries or if she is proved in the Land Court to have indulged in sexual intercourse. With both males and females interest in land is never more than a life interest.[16]

3—A Sample Tongan Village and its Lands

The village in which I investigated the operation of this system is situated four miles from the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It is a fairly large village with a population of 653 persons living in 106 households. The village population represents 1.24 per cent of the entire population of Tonga.

The strongest single force binding the members of the village together is their common allegiance to their high chief who is also the high chief of a number of other nearby villages. He is recognized as having the authority to call upon every household in the village to supply gifts of yams and pigs, mats and *tapa* cloth, whenever the need arises for such accumulations to be made, such as on the marriage or death of a member of Royalty or of the nobility. Although there are no specified occasions for the presentation of first fruits to him by the villagers, and he does not call for any, particular households do occasionally perform the service voluntarily in recognition of his position.[17] Apart from the political aspect of such position, it has also a very important economic aspect: the estate from which individual tax allotments are granted to members of the village are his hereditary *tofia*. Tax allotments are regarded as being held from him, and this exercises a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his position in relation to the whole village.

There is also a Town Officer, who is appointed by the Government to be its representative within the village and through whom it makes

[16] A person who succeeds to the title to land in this context holds the land for himself. He may permit others, including his brothers, to derive sustenance from it, but this gives them no right of their own to it.

[17] See in this connection Beaglehole 1941:19.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, & then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails & other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people to eat ab[t] that time of night), we partook of some of it with our Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out 'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of it & then employed ab[t] some business or other very innocently

[1] *ko e ha.*

56: Samwell1 D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous & ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuuai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuuai*.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: "Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".[37] Modern theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old Testament law rather than "the Gospel". 797 794

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".[38]

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements. 797 535 [833]

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs. 797 526

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness to practise immorality.[39] W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking 797 276 [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".[40]

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".[41]

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their counterparts in Fiji. 797 273

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external 797 178 [764]

/74 cont./

839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

839 674 [178]

210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

839 684 it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved 848 their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

[113]

[842] [833] The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular